The procession had formed at the house of the deceased. It squeezed around the corner of the church led by a large group of women, all in black, one carrying a circular arrangement of flowers and candles on her head. The women were followed by the men, and certainly well over a hundred and fifty were present. One person said later that he thought "the whole village" was there. The effort required on the part of many to come from far away added to the strength of the secondary rite of passage in drawing the community together.

The church was filled inside. The flowers were placed on the bier in the middle of the church, and the priest prayed for about five minutes. That was all. The whole crowd left the church again. There was no solemn singing of the full afterward, as is ordinarily done after a regular service.

As at the funeral, the chief male mourners lined up outside to receive condolences, while the women mourners, swathed in black, withdrew by themselves. The minimal lineage of the deceased happened to consist only of his own immediate family and that of his first cousin. The exception consisted of the first cousin, who had automatically become the guardian of the children, the brother of the deceased's wife, and the heads of households of the two minimal lineages most closely connected, genealogically, to that of the deceased.

After this, everyone repaired to the house of the deceased where coffee was served and there was quiet, general, conversation.

The unifying effect of the primary and secondary funerals should be clear from these accounts. The fact that this effect extends outside the village to include the secondary district, which is the case of Mbongé is very clearly defined, is also significant. Even we might note an additional event which took place during the period of study. When a young man, an only son, died in one of the other villages of d-Djumi during the winter, a large number of women members of Mbongé were among those who attended his funeral. Caldwell (1969, p. 90) was that even in districts where there is considerable mixture of religions (unlike d-Djumi) funerals serve to bring together people of different religions in an event of common concern, thus essential easing interreligious tensions.

Young and old alike, the Mbongélés were unanimous in believing that everyone was obligated to attend funerals, regardless of any difficulties which might be involved. Witness the following statement by a young adult: "When someone dies in the village, all of us must go. If a man goes only for the funeral, still it may cause great inconvenience for him. But he goes - we go - everyone goes - because we must. I do not know why we do this, but we do it just the same."

## [illegible]

### [illegible]

In the area of ritual behavior which is of a private, personal nature, it is clear that there is considerable individual and family variation of practice in the village

[illegible] and gullibility of the American people have been spread through the Marronite region of the Lebanon. In some districts, the excitement may be compared to the gold rush fever period of California and Australia. . . ."

"The American fever has touched us at a few points. In the spring, our teachers at Ashrfih and Beirout resigned. After some delay, one of them went to America. The other wished to go, but discovered he could not do so. The leading member of the church . . . also went to America, having shared his cash possessions of 70 "Liras" (gold pound) with his wife, leaving her 5 and taking the rest with him. . . ."[9]

- *b. Escape from cultural control:* It is obvious that every culture, in order to maintain its specific organization, has to establish and exercise a certain degree of social control over the behavior of the group members. It seems that, no matter how harmoniously integrated that organization may be, so long as social control exists, some of the individuals concerned have to suffer from a certain degree of frustration. This seems to be the inevitable price any cultural group has to pay for the attainment of group solidarity and continuity.

  In the case of Bidonvisme, social control has never assumed an extreme character, and individual frustration has never been an acute problem. Before the American World (the world of free individualism) was discovered by Bidonvisme, those frus-

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[illegible]

[9] "Memory of the Americas, Presbyterian Mission, Beirut, Lebanon, 1904 and 1905.

• [illegible] [illegible] individuals had to face the issue and put up with the stringent situation, in accordance with the dictates of the village culture. When America was "discovered," an outlet, an escape was provided, and many a frustrated individual took up the newly offered chance.

## Extent of Emigration

[167] *Emigration to foreign countries:* Prior to 1880, not a single individual had ever emigrated from the village to the outside, either within the country or to a foreign country. Bishmizzeen constituted the world of the village group. Even mobility was highly restricted. Visits to neighboring villages were very infrequent. A few used to take occasional trips to the town of Tripoli, and still a fewer number had been to Beirut. Occasionally some adventurous souls would take a pilgrimage to Jerusalem or a cattle trading trip to Egypt. One of the old village songs, aiming at the praise of a husband's valor, begins with the following line: "Your husband, oh beautiful one, has gone to Damascus and came back, alone." Damascus is about 100 miles from Bishmizzeen.

[168] In 1884 the first young man from Bishmizzeen emigrated to a foreign country. Others followed, and the number increased, year after year, first to the U. S. A., then to the four corners of the world. The following table (III) shows the geographical distribution of the Bishmizzeen emigrants.

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to lead to the following general conclusions concerning the influence of emigration upon the social organization of the village:

1. *Social control breaks down:* The influence of emigration, as a convenient escape from social control, has been discussed above. It is mentioned again, with a view to emphasizing its significance. At first, social control with its inevitable individual frustrations—was a factor in the enhancement of the emigration movement. However, once that step was taken, emigration began to react upon the social organization of the village and became a strong factor in the breakdown of its social control. The church and the kinship patterns of behavior were no longer adequate for the control of the elements in the new situation. A state of disorganization was the result.

2. *Rise of the village post office as an institution:* Prior to the emigration movement, no regular post office existed in the village, and the people were not conscious of that institution in any significant manner. There was no need for it, as very few letters were received every month or so. With the advent of emigration, the situation was completely changed. Letters exchanged between the village and abroad became very frequent and highly significant. Through those letters, the ties between the emigrants and the folks at home were preserved and the flow of cash money into the village took place. Two concepts became highly significant in the people's vocabulary, as a result of

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